

Gazette of the United States.

No. XI.

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THE TABLET.—No. XI.

"There is scarce any thing more common, than animosities among parties, that cannot subsist, but by their agreement."

SOME persons, who read my last number, complain that a few of the strokes were drawn too hard. Part of the image is said to be too bold; and the picture, in some respects, is raised beyond the life. If it is meant as a portrait, where shall we look for an exact original? If it is a fancy piece; why is the figure allowed to exhibit, what facts will contradict?

It must be confessed, and it is an happy circumstance, that in the present age, the evils of faction have not run their full length. They have been controuled by several causes; but they are capable, when unchecked, of reaching all the extremes I have described. The present state of society, in America, and some parts of Europe, is unfavorable to the success of head-strong, turbulent incendiaries. A few individuals, how much soever disposed, cannot easily blow up a flame, that will spread over any large district of country. Most people are so intent upon their occupations, and so desirous of pursuing private objects in life, that they are averse to disorder and contention. The mild influences of commerce have diffused a spirit of moderation and order. As the love of gain is now a very predominant passion, and as that is best gratified in pacific times, it operates as a strong guard against restless, clamorous men, who are ambitious of kindling factions. This love of money is not confined to the mercantile profession alone. All denominations of men are more or less under its influence. Those, who are aiming at the acquisition of property by the regular steps of honest industry, will only be feeble instruments in party rage and animosity. There are not wanting characters, at the present day, to throw society into confusion and quarrels; but they do not easily find materials. The great bulk of mankind are otherwise employed.

Among the individuals, I have observed, who had a contentious spirit, no one has combined all the qualifications, or accomplished so extensively his designs, as leaders of parties used to do, in a more imperfect and outrageous state of society. People in general, though they may be individually unconnected, are yet so relatively situated with respect to each other, that an injury done to any particular class of the community, impedes the prosperity of the rest. The diffusions between the landed, mercantile and manufacturing interests can never proceed to any detrimental lengths; because each party will itself feel the evil it is levelling against the other, before it can be pushed to any injurious extreme. The whole system is so complicated that it must stand or fall together. Disputes, between the different orders of society, are as unnatural, as the sedition between the members of the human body, which the old Roman fable so aptly represents.

In proportion, as the relative interests of men are examined, will it be found that mutual harmony and prosperity should be promoted. Indeed they will in some measure promote and regulate themselves. Some jealousy and jarring are far from producing a bad effect. The spirit of competition is indispensable.—In some cases it may bear too hard upon certain individuals, and even one branch of the community may get an undue advantage over others; but in a general way, the system will take care of itself.

The subject is not yet finished, though I intend this number should have closed it.

NATIONAL FINANCIERING.

A LETTER on the Public and Private DEBT of AMERICA.—The means of facilitating the payment thereof—and converting it into a source of WEALTH and PROSPERITY for the United States.

By SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE, Bart.

THE Americans owe at present four millions sterling of debts to British subjects; various plans have been proposed to effectuate payment—they all fail in this respect, that they suggest no provision for putting the Americans in a capacity to pay. The chief use of history is to shew men what they are to follow and what to avoid, by the experience of their ancestors, and therefore submit the following plan, founded on Mr. Montague's principles, to the consideration of both countries. America is now in a similar situation

NOTE.

The Mr. Montague here alluded to, was Chancellor to the Exchequer, A. D. 1696, and who, with the assistance of Sir Isaac Newton, and Mr. Locke, established the present system of the British funds.

with that of England, during the first year of King William's reign, in four respects.

1st. She owes an external debt of four millions to British subjects, in the same way England owed five millions to her soldiers and seamen who were mostly abroad.

2dly. She owes an internal public debt, contracted during the war; England owed a similar debt, but with this difference, that the American debt is small in comparison of what the English debt was.

3dly. America requires annual supplies of taxes to carry on her government: England required them also; but with this difference, that the supplies required by America, at present, to carry on her government, are a trifle, whereas the demands of England were great, because there was a great war to maintain.

Lastly, America has but little coin; England at that time had not much, and yet had vast demands upon her for to carry on her commerce, to pay the interest of her debts, to maintain an expensive civil government, about forty thousand seamen, and about eighty thousand troops, and to subsidize foreign Princes. The supposed dishonesty of Americans to their British creditors, or rather perhaps their real inability to do what they wish to do, arises from their want of coin, or of a substitute for coin; for, to expect them to pay a great external and internal debt, and carry on their government without coin, or a substitute for coin, that is, to pay without an instrument of payment, is one vision; and to expect America with her poverty, to pay the principal sum of her external and internal debt, when England, France, and Holland, with all their wealth, cannot, is another vision. But if the American States, (with or without the intervention of British commissioners, to attend to the interest of British creditors in the liquidation of their debts) will apply Mr. Montague's principles and practice to the present condition of their country, they will find the remedy for the evil, even in the evil itself, for the benefit of the British creditors; and they will find, certain good to spring out of that remedy, for the benefit of America herself.

Let the American States, in the first place, provide a fund of taxes, sufficient to pay more than the interest of their internal and external debts, and sufficient also to pay either the sums annually required to carry on their government, or the interest of a sum borrowed for carrying it on, if they have no taxes sufficient to raise an annual supply for that purpose; but which borrowing will not be necessary, except for a few years at the beginning, till public credit shall be established; because, after that period, it will be the fault of America herself, if she does not pay off debts, instead of increasing them. The States should, in the second place, convert the above debts, (whether internal or external, or new borrowings, to carry on for a few years their government) into public transferable securities, and make provision for the exact application of those taxes to the payment of the interest of the debts, in the same way that Mr. Montague did. Lastly, in order to give currency to these transferable securities (or, to give them a more simple name, to this paper money,) it should be received in payment of taxes to the State, and of borrowings by the State, in the same way as was provided for by Mr. Montague.

Objection. It may be objected, that it is unjust to make the American public pay the debts of American private persons; that the American public will be a loser by the bargain, and therefore will never agree to it.

Answer. Public bodies, like private persons, submit to hardships, when they are to receive benefits from them. The States will agree, if any way can be fallen upon to make the public a gainer in the end, and to save it from loss in the mean time. Now the way to compass the first of these ends, is, 1st, for the American States, in return for the transferable securities which they give for the payment of the interest of the debts of the British creditors, to be put in the place of those creditors, so as to enable the States to recover the debts in America; and 2dly, that these debts, as fast as recovered, shall be converted into a fund, to make a solid bottom for a bank of circulation, like that of England, to be the property of the American public: and which bank will gradually extend itself, for the accommodation of public and private credit, as they shall extend themselves, because the debts recovered will be gradually falling into it.

With regard to ways of saving the public of America from loss, or at least from a considerable loss, there are many. Some of the debts could be called in instantly. Securities for the payment of the interest annually, and of the princi-

pal by instalment, might be taken on the real estates of others, or upon the personal estates of them and their friends, when they had no real estates. To ease the debtors, and yet to give benefit to the public, payment of many of the debts might be taken in the produce of the country; for example, in the tobacco of Chesapeake bay, and the rice of the Carolinas; and these sold to foreign nations, with the stamp of the public upon them, to vouch the goodness of their quality, would acquire an additional value. In order to obtain the end of easing the debtor, and getting benefit to the state still farther, that produce might be exported upon a premium by the State, to respectable bodies of merchants in Britain, to be received for the behoof of the British proprietors in the American funds. This last is not difficult to be executed. All the tobacco received in France and Spain, is consigned to a few hands; and the diamonds of the Brazils go to one house in Lisbon. But above all, England might give advantage to American trade, without hurting her own, to make up the public loss, and reward the public honor of America: these are arrangements, which could be contrived in half a day, by one who has shewn that he can conduct the lightning of the skies, and who, by contriving these arrangements, would crown the good he has done to his own, and make up for the mischief he has done to this country. Such mutual concessions would tend to reconcile the humours of men to each other, whose interests in spite of those humours must long be the same. The advantages which would redound to America from adopting such views, are the following:

1st. Her empire of dominion, and her empire of commerce (for they must be blind indeed, who do not see how immense this last empire must be, if honor be made its basis) will start from the noblest of all goals, the goal of public honor, and of national fidelity of character; circumstances which support the public credit of England, and the private credit of the Spanish nation, more than any other. At present the ships of all countries stand aloof from the coasts of America, but they would then press forward to reach them. He must be a bad merchant, indeed, who does not see, that a little character is worth a little money.

2dly. America would be supplied with an immediate substitute for her want of coin, just as England was by Mr. Montague's scheme, and this relief, by the vigour which it always gives to industry and trade, would supply America with coin, just as coin was drawn into England by Mr. Montague's scheme. No bank can stand without an equivalent security within itself, for the notes which it issues. The debts recovered and sent to the bank, would form that security; and then the bank, either established at one station, or, which would be much better, divided into three or four branches, placed at great stations of America for the sake of greater convenience to business, would give new wings to the circulation of private credit, and also to public credit; for, supported by the State, the bank would for its own interest support the State. The consequence of the firm establishment of public and private credit, obtained by those operations, would be, and at no very distant period, that foreign nations would throw their money into the public funds of America with as little fear, as they do into those of their own country. And the consequence of that confidence again would be, that British merchants possessed of property, in the public funds of America, would make payment often in that property, and trade often upon it; America would remit her payment almost always in her own produce, and carry on her trade, and take her station high in the rank of nations, either for defence or offence, on the money of other countries.

SENTIMENTAL EXTRACT.

TO distinguish men by the difference of their moral qualities, to espouse one party from a sense of justice, to oppose another even with indignation when excited by iniquity, are the common indications of probity, and the operations of an upright, animated and generous spirit. To guard against unjust partialities, and ill-grounded antipathies; to maintain that composure of mind, which, without impairing its sensibility or ardor, proceeds in every instance with discernment and penetration, are the marks of a vigorous and cultivated spirit. To be able to follow the dictates of such a spirit, through all the varieties of human life, and with a mind always master of itself, in prosperity and adversity, and possessed of all its abilities when the subjects in hazard are life or freedom, as much as in treating simple questions of interest, are the triumphs of magnanimity, and true elevation of mind.

EXTRACT FROM "AMERICAN ESSAYS."

A LETTER, addressed to the justly celebrated and humane Dr. JOHN HOWARD, of Great-Britain, with the

STORY of HONESTUS and CONSTANTIA.

WORTHY SIR,

THE pure, liberal, and philanthropic motives, that excited you to quit your tranquil retreat, and to travel through foreign countries, have justly distinguished you, as the Friend, or rather guardian-angel of mankind: With a well-grounded confidence you have bid defiance to every species of contagion, and calmly confronted Death, in every horrid form, to explore the dreary receptacles of miserable man, to pour the healing balm of consolation into his ulcered wounds: You have with more than Herculean labor, patience, and fortitude, devoted your time, endeavors, and interest, to the glorious cause of Humanity: You have traced and deplored the infernal paths, that mark the wanton power of tyrants; and you have wept over the helpless victims of superstition and oppression: You have seen virtue in chains—and vice triumphant: It is your peculiar glory to have passed by gaudy Palaces with neglect; and to have sought out the dwellings of distress, with the god-like purposes of consolation and relief: You have soared above human, and gloriously illustrated some of the brightest emanations of the divine nature; and, happily for mankind, you are still preserved, and once more returned to your native country, with the greatest, and best rewards, SELF-APPROBATION, and the sincere plaudits of a grateful world. And now, most worthy Sir! permit an American, to congratulate you on your safe return, and to present you with a FAMILY PICTURE, TAKEN FROM REAL LIFE IN LONDON; however monstrous, and shocking to humanity, the features may appear, be assured they belong to your own country; where, I have reason to think, from my own observation, and the most authentic information, you may find an ample field for the exercise of all those virtues, which led you at the risk of liberty and life, into foreign dungeons: Victims of oppression, and other objects of compassion, abound in England: In some of the abodes of misery in London, you will possibly find new species of oppression and torture, unknown in any other country, however absolute, and such as might almost make AN HASTINGS blush, for the depravity of mankind.

Bribery, corruption and oppression, have been suffered to take large strides in the British dominions; they have contaminated the streams, and if not speedily checked, will poison the source of that national Justice, Generosity, Humanity, and Liberty, which have so long been the boast of Britons.

Should your sympathetic heart prompt you to analyze those modern engines of cruelty, THE PRIVATE MAD-HOUSES in London, and its vicinity, let no pretences of the callous keepers, however plausible, induce you to pass by those gloomy chambers, where the wretched inhabitants are buried from the sight of friends, and light of day: Those INFERNAL CELLS are said to be new-invented substitutes for the grave; where the wealthy parent, or other relation, is intombed alive, to gratify a ravenous, hungry heir, who could no longer brook the tardiness of Death.

You, Sir! who have made it the business of your life to seek the means of doing good, will, I hope, pardon my freedom, in presuming to dictate, or direct your enquiries, when I assure you, that I am actuated solely by those humane motives, that influence and direct all your actions.

With the highest esteem, and admiration, of your many signal virtues, and exalted character,

I am, with great respect,

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble, and most obedient Servant,

AN AMERICAN.

(Story of Honestus and Constantia in our next.)

PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES.

[Substance of Friday's Debate, on the motion for annexing to the Impost Bill a clause, limiting its duration.]

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1789.

MR. MADISON observed, that it was incompatible with the spirit of the Constitution and the principles of republicanism, to pass a revenue law unlimited in its duration; especially when the objects for which the income was intended were not defined, and from the circumstances of the Union, appropriations could not be conveniently made—that it would justly alarm the apprehensions of the people, should Congress pass a law which might exist perpetually for raising taxes, subject to the adventitious controul and direction of future administrations, without appropriations, and which might be continued after the ostensible motives for their assent should cease:—That the House of Representatives was vested with the sole power of originally applying to the pockets of the people—that on the retaining this power, inviolate, depended their most essential rights—that on this account principally, the democratic branch of the Legislature consisted of the greater number, chosen for a shorter period than the other, and consequently reverted more frequently to the mass of the citizens—that if there was no limitation specified, however oppressive and unequal the operation of the law, it might become perpetual, for it would not be in the power of the representatives to effect an alteration, as The President, with one third of the Senate, at any time might prevent a repeal or alteration of the act—this would render the funds so far independent of the people—and they might become a convenience in the hands of some future administration, for the purposes of oppression. That the act in its present form, had been complained of as imperfect—that experience alone could ascertain its intrinsic qualities, and that experience might forcibly suggest the necessity and importance of alterations, and amendments—but without this clause it may never be in the power of the House to remedy any defects—and the people would be divested of one of their dearest and most essential rights, of which the House of Representatives were the only safe and adequate guardians.

MR. AMES in reply, said—to judge rightly we must consider the reasons for the proposed amendment with attention.

It is said, the money which the impost will produce is not appropriated. Are gentlemen afraid, that no appropriation will be made, or that it will be improperly made? If they are, it will be a reason for delaying the passage of the bill; but will not furnish any for limiting its duration—If they are not afraid of this, as he trusted was the case, why urge the objection?

It is said, the act is imperfect: Then let us revise and amend it: A bill which shall pass with acknowledged errors, will be a great evil in the period to which it is proposed to confine it. A perpetual law is said to be needless, because the occasion will not last so long. He thought the public would always have occasion for a revenue, and thinking of the high duties as he did, he believed the revenue would fall short; and if the act was to last until the money raised by it should pay the public debt, it might as well be made perpetual.

But let us attend to substance more than sound; What is meant by temporary and perpetual? No law is really perpetual: A temporary act is made *pro hac vice*, or by way of experiment: If the act is bad, several years is too long to suffer it to last.

Three different periods have been proposed for its duration: One year—several years, and until the public debts shall be paid.

One year may be proper for an experiment; but is it no evil to go over this ground again? Is it desirable or safe to revive the topics of distinct interests, and partial politics once a year? Will it not protract our session and augment our expenses? If it is limited to several years, will it be possible to re-loan the foreign debt on the credit of such precarious funds? Other nations have mortgaged their taxes for their debts. A part of our foreign debt must be provided for; With a permanent revenue, it is probable it might be re-loaned at a reduced interest. The same advantage might be expected in providing for the other debts; could this government secure the creditor on good ground with a fund which a few years might annihilate? He considered the advantage of credit: It had made Britain powerful and rich: A despotism could not have it, nor could a pure democracy—but a wise republican government ought to have and might have it—and how? An act not limited should be in force until repealed: The revenues, if pledged, could not be taken away, but by a positive act of injustice and fraud, to which the two Houses must assent, and the President would have his voice: It was three to one, therefore, that it would not happen, and the creditor might trust this government as safely as any in the world; But an act which would expire of itself afforded less ground of confidence; for it was a mere neglect or omission of an act, for which the tenth part of the objections made against this bill would furnish a pretext: The mere disagreement of the houses would prevent it; and those who had seen how difficult it was to procure the assent of this House to the bill, would not be sanguine that another should pass at a future period: Had we not suffered from this cause severely already? It is asked, shall we part with the power? If the act is limited, in fact the power is limited—and it is the power to save the public honor and public money that is limited: We are advised to hold the purse strings carefully, and so we ought: But whose money do we hold? We are told that foreigners will seize our ships for their debts; and if the money is due to them, why should we hold it? What honest reason can we have for withholding it? Limiting the act will carry distrust in the face of it—and we shall be obliged to pay for that distrust, as the act may be repealed or amended, as experience may direct, there seems to be no good reason for limiting its existence—He was against all temporary expedients, and wished to make the act commensurate with the public necessity, which called for it.

MR. PAGE observed, that he thought it inconsistent, that gentlemen, who had opposed the bill in every stage of its progress through the House, should now be strenuous for its being perpetual—for his part he had his doubts, as to the eligibility of some articles, and for that reason, there ought to be a limited period to its existence—he was for a fair experiment of the bill however, as it did not appear that greater harmony of sentiment was attainable at present—but if in the operation it should be found pernicious, he could not conceive the propriety of putting it out of the power of the House to correct the evils it may produce.

MR. AMES replied, that the amendment moved for was he believed totally unexpected to almost every gentleman in the House—for his part he had always supposed that the system was to have been permanent, and commensurate to the object—upon this principle he had combated those parts of the bill with some degree of energy which he conceived unfavorable—because he wished to make the bill as faultless as possible, considering its indefinite existence as the natural result of a desire to make adequate provision for the public exigencies, and support for the government.

Adjourned.

SATURDAY, MAY 16.

MR. SENEY presented an act of the legislature of the State of Maryland, offering to Congress, the exclusive jurisdiction of ten miles square, in any part of that State, for the permanent seat of the Federal Government.

MR. SYLVESTER presented a petition of DONALD CAMPBELL, praying a reimbursement of monies expended by him on account of the United States, during the late war.

MR. AMES presented a petition from JOHN FENNO, soliciting the printing in the Gazette of the United States, the acts, resolutions, &c. of the House.

The consideration of Mr. MADISON's amendment to the impost bill, was then resumed—it being intimated that the YEAS and NAYS would be called for—an animated debate ensued—in which the substance of yesterday's observations was recapitulated, and many new sentiments were added. In support of the amendment it was said, that the establishment of the public credit depended upon a regular and permanent system of honest policy, and the virtue of the government—that we ought not to suppose that a future legislature would be less virtuous than the present—that it was but just to suppose that there will always exist a disposition in the Federal Legislature, to do justice; and if this should be the case, public credit will always be established in whatever manner funds might be provided, and that no assigned period or any act without limitation, would effect this object without this disposition.—That it would not be wise to put too much power in the hands of the Senate, as the time for which they were elected, rendered them almost independent of the people.

It was further observed, that the national debt was already placed on as solid principles, as a legislative act could establish it—that it was in fact better founded than that of any other country; for it had been made part of the national compact; that the general character of a people, and not its particular legislative acts were the objects of attention to foreign creditors—That nothing could justify an immutable law, but extraordinary circumstances.—Circumstances which would render such a law always equally necessary—that every act of a perpetual nature, narrowed the power of the House, and transferred it to the executive and a minority of the Senate.

On the other hand it was contended, that merely not assigning a limited period to an act, did not necessarily make it perpetual—that in order to this an express declaration to that effect, was requisite—that every act must be deficient in proportion as it fell short of being commensurate to its object—that the public credit could be established only by providing funds which in all events, should be fully sufficient to answer the demands of the public creditors—that temporary systems, dependant upon the breath of an Assembly, could not be considered in this point of light—that this clause would defeat all the salutary effects designed by the system.—That notwithstanding allusions had been frequently made to the British parliamentary proceedings, yet it was conceived that no precedents of a limited revenue law could be produced—that it would be transferring the imbecility of the old confederation to the new system—that if we wish to have the evidences of our public debt of any value, it is our duty to establish a permanent adequate provision—that it was necessary in this way, to give evidence of our disposition and ability to pay our debts—that foreigners would be scrupulously attentive to our public acts, and draw their conclusions accordingly—that natives and foreigners had suffered sufficiently by their confidence, and we ought to suppose that they would be more cautious for the future—that it could not rationally be expected that a temporary system would inspire a respect and confidence in the government, or give it the necessary energy and consequence among the people.

The motion was then varied by Mr. MADISON, but after some further observation, the original amendment was put, and carried in the affirmative; and the YEAS and NAYS entered on the journals as follow.—For the motion,

Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Benson, Mr. Bland, Mr. Burke, Mr. Carroll, Mr. Coles, Mr. Contee, Mr. Fitzsimons, Mr. Floyd, Mr. Gale, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Gilman, Mr. Goodhue, Mr. Griffin, Mr. Groat, Mr. Hathorn, Mr. Heister, Mr. Huntington, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Lee, Mr. Leonard, Mr. Livermore, Mr. Madison, Mr. Moore, Mr. Mulenburgh, Mr. Page, Mr. Parker, Mr. Patridge, Mr. Rensselaer, Mr. SENEY, Mr. Scott, Mr. Smith, Maryland, Mr. Smith, South Carolina, Mr. Sturges, Mr. Sylvester, Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Tucker, Mr. Vining, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. White, Mr. Wynkoop.

Against the motion, Mr. Ames, Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Cadwalader, Mr. Clymer, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Sinnickson, Mr. Thatcher.

Yeas 41
Noes 8

Majority 33

The clause for limitation being annexed to the bill, it was agreed that it should continue and be in force from the 15th of June next, till the first of June 1796. The bill then passed the House, and was sent to the Senate for their concurrence.

The House agreed to take up the report of the committee on the memorial of Dr. RAMSAY, on Thursday next.

Mr. Hathorn had leave of absence for a few days.

MONDAY, MAY 18.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the second reading of the bill to regulate the collection of the impost.

The object of this bill being a temporary arrangement, applying the revenue systems already extant in the several States to the purposes of the Union—and in those States where no such regulations existed, directing the adoption of the laws of a neighboring State.

Mr. LAWRENCE, Mr. HUNTINGDEN, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. WHITE and Mr. VINING, severally objected to the bill, as incompetent to the purposes intended—as radically bad—as creating insurmountable difficulties, owing to various rates and modes of impost, and its collection in the several States—it would cause an interference with the pre-conceived maxims of particular States, by making the laws of one, the rule of conduct for another—it would sanction the receiving a depreciated paper medium, and other regulations of some of the States, which were inconsistent with the Constitution.

It was therefore moved, that the committee should rise, and the bill lie on the table—this motion was seconded, and carried in the affirmative.

On motion of Mr. PARKER, a committee was appointed to bring in a Bill for laying a tax on slaves imported into the United States, prior to the year 1808.

On motion of Mr. GOODRUE, a committee was appointed to bring in a bill, providing for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States, agreeably to the Constitution.

The House, agreeably to the order of the day, resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the report of the joint committee respecting the rules to be observed by the two Houses for the enrollment, attestation, publication and preservation of the acts of Congress, and regulating the mode of presenting addresses, &c. to THE PRESIDENT of the United States—and having discussed and amended several paragraphs, the committee rose, and the Chairman having reported progress, the House adjourned.

TUESDAY, MAY 19.

A message was read from the Senate, informing that they had appointed Mr. LEE a committee, to join with a committee on the part of the House, to present to THE PRESIDENT, the engrossed bill, regulating the taking certain oaths. The House voted a concurrence, and Mr. PARKER, and Mr. FLOYD were appointed.

In committee of the whole on the State of the Union, Mr. TRUMBULL in the chair.

Mr. BOUDINOT, according to previous notice, introduced a resolve in which the first object was the establishment of an office of Finance, agreeably to the Constitution; the superintendence and direction of which should be committed to an officer, to be entitled "The Secretary of Finance for the United States."

Mr. BENSON proposed a resolve as an amendment, that it should first be determined how many departments there should be, and proposed a resolution, that there should be three, viz.

The Department of Foreign Affairs,
The Department of the Treasury, and
The War Department—

To these it was proposed by Mr. VINING, to add a fourth, viz. The Secretary of the United States for the Domestic Department.

After some conversation upon the amendment, Mr. BOUDINOT withdrew his proposition for the present, after which Mr. MADISON proposed a resolution, which Mr. BENSON consented should supersede that introduced by him—it was to this effect—That to aid the Supreme Executive in the discharge of his important trust, there should be three subordinate departments established, viz.

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of the Treasury.

The Secretary of the United States for the War Department.

The respective heads of these departments to be nominated by THE PRESIDENT, and appointed by him with the advice and consent of the Senate, and to be removed by THE PRESIDENT alone.—The addition of the Domestic Department, was again proposed.

The question whether there should be three departments passed unanimously in the affirmative.

It was then proposed to strike out the words "with the advice and consent of the Senate," as an unnecessary clause—This was voted in the affirmative.—The last clause "to be removed by the President," occasioned a very long and interesting debate which we have not room this day to insert; but a sketch of which shall appear in our next. It was then moved, that "with the advice and consent of the Senate" should be added after the word "PRESIDENT,"—in the last clause; this was negatived, and the vote being taken on the whole as amended, it passed in the affirmative.

The second article, viz. "Secretary of the United States for the department of the Treasury," was the next in order: when it was moved

that the further consideration of the resolve, should be postponed—This being seconded the committee rose, and the Chairman reported progress.

The joint committee appointed to determine upon the subject of news-papers, and to receive proposals for executing the public printing, reported in part to this effect—That it was expedient to diminish the number of papers which it had been customary to have handed in to the members of Congress, and therefore, that every member be furnished with one paper only, at the public charge, each member to take such paper as he may think proper—This report to lie on the table.

Adjourned.

NEW-YORK, MAY 20, 1789.

Monday last the SENATE of the United States, with THE VICE-PRESIDENT at their head, went in a body, in carriages, from their Chamber of Congress, to the House of THE PRESIDENT, where the Vice-President read and presented to him the following ADDRESS, in answer to his Speech, delivered to both Houses of Congress.

The ADDRESS of the Senate to the President of the United States, in answer to his Speech to both Houses of Congress.

SIR,
WE, the Senate of the United States, return you our sincere thanks for your excellent Speech, delivered to both Houses of Congress; congratulate you on the complete organization of the Federal Government, and felicitate ourselves, and our fellow-citizens, on your elevation to the office of President—an office, highly important by the powers constitutionally annexed to it, and extremely honorable from the manner in which the appointment is made. The unanimous suffrage of the elective body in your favor, is peculiarly expressive of the gratitude, confidence and affection, of the citizens of America, and is the highest testimonial at once of your merit, and of their esteem. We are sensible, Sir, that nothing but the voice of your fellow citizens, could have called you from a retreat, chosen with the fondest predilection, endeared by habit, and consecrated to the repose of declining years; we rejoice, and with us, all America, that, in obedience to the call of our common country, you have returned once more to public life. In you all parties confide, in you all interests unite, and we have no doubt, that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions; and that your prudence and sagacity as a Statesman will tend to avert the dangers to which we were exposed, to give stability to the present government, and dignity and splendor to that country, which your skill and valor as a Soldier, so eminently contributed to raise to independence and empire.

When we contemplate the coincidence of circumstances, and wonderful combination of causes, which gradually prepared the people of this country for independence; when we contemplate the rise, progress and termination of the late war, which gave them a name among the nations of the earth, we are with you, unavoidably led, to acknowledge and adore the great Arbiter of the universe, by whom empires rise and fall. A review of the many signal instances of divine interposition in favour of this country claims our most pious gratitude. And permit us, Sir, to observe, that among the great events which have led to the formation and establishment of a Federal Government, we esteem your acceptance of the office of President as one of the most propitious and important.

In the execution of the trust reposed in us, we shall endeavour to pursue that enlarged and liberal policy, to which your speech so happily directs. We are conscious that the prosperity of each State is inseparably connected with the welfare of all, and that in promoting the latter, we shall effectually advance the former. In full persuasion of this truth, it shall be our invariable aim, to divest ourselves of local prejudices and attachments, and to view the great assemblage of communities and interests committed to our charge with an equal eye. We feel, Sir, the force, and acknowledge the justness of the observation, that the foundation of our national policy should be laid in private morality. If individuals be not influenced by moral principles, it is in vain to look for public virtue; it is, therefore, the duty of Legislators to enforce, both by precept and example, the utility as well as the necessity of a strict adherence to the rules of distributive justice. We beg you to be assured, that the Senate will at all times cheerfully co-operate in every measure, which may strengthen the Union, conduce to the happiness, or secure and perpetuate the liberties of this great Confederated Republic.

We commend you, Sir, to the protection of Almighty God, earnestly beseeching him long to preserve a life so valuable and dear to the people of the United States, and that your administration may be prosperous to the nation and glorious to yourself.

In Senate, May 16th, 1789.

Signed by order,

JOHN ADAMS, { President of the Senate of the United States.

To which the President was pleased to make the following reply—

GENTLEMEN,
I THANK you for your address, in which the most affectionate sentiments are expressed in the most obliging terms. The coincidence of circumstances which led to this auspicious crisis, the confidence reposed in me by my fellow-citizens, and the assistance I may expect from counsels which will be dictated by an enlarged and liberal policy, seem to preface a more prosperous issue to my administration, than a diffidence of my abilities had taught me to anticipate. I now feel myself inexpressibly happy in a belief, that Heaven, which has done so much for our infant nation, will not withdraw its providential influence before our political felicity shall have been completed; and, in a conviction that the Senate will at all times co-operate in every measure which may tend to promote the welfare of this Confederated Republic.

Thus supported by a firm trust in the great Arbiter of the universe, aided by the collected wisdom of the Union, and imploring the divine benediction on our joint exertions in the service of our country, I readily engage with you in the arduous but pleasing task of attempting to make a nation happy.

G. WASHINGTON.

It has been observed, that foreigners, who were never in America, have been puzzled to localize the several parts of the Union, and to assign to each their proper name—Hence States have been called Towns—and Towns denominated Provinces, in the foreign newspapers.—A Correspondent queries—Whether equal confusion will not take place respecting the term PRESIDENT, which is applied to the Vice-President when speaking of him in his Senatorial character—and in the same unqualified manner is also applied to the SUPREME MAGISTRATE of the North-American Empire.

The Patriot of America, must view with the utmost pleasure, the rising greatness of his country. Glorious indeed! is the prospect the now presents to view. Industry seems to have taken up a residence among us, and with vigour to push forward the arts and sciences: manufactures flourish—agriculture thrives, and literature prevails in every rank.

In the English House of commons, March 13th, The House, upon motion for that purpose, went into a committee "to consider of the trade between the subjects of his Majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the territories belonging to the United States of America."

Extract of a letter from London, dated March 9.

"The friends of your country are very anxious to know the operations of your federal system, in order to be able to oppose the general opinion that prevails, of your people being impatient under good government, and unwilling to be controlled by legislative authority."

"The election of General WASHINGTON to the Presidential Chair, and the expected choice of Mr. ADAMS as Vice-President, will have an auspicious tendency. Europe as well as America, concur in the praises due to that great and good man, and are well convinced, that nothing which can degrade your national character, or diminish your national consequence, will ever meet with his assent."

"Mr. ADAMS, by being employed in the diplomatic line in England and Holland, must have had the best opportunities of making observations on the politics of Europe, as well as on the internal systems of polity and public credit, which have aggrandized these nations, and rendered them so conspicuous for their resources. Such knowledge must be of eminent service to you, in your arrangements of Finance."

"I am happy to observe, that our opinions on the subject of the United States are already essentially changed—they are no longer treated with that supercilious contempt, which their former insufficiency of government, and disunion of sentiments, gave too much reason to justify."

"Your situation and resources entitle you to hold a high rank amongst the powers of the world. If your government is well administered, you will soon feel your consequence."

It is a very general idea, that the wisdom of America at this important Epoch, will be discovered to the greatest advantage, by turning her attention to those objects, which are obviously within her Attainment, rather than to subjects of experiment, in the present state of her finances.

The commercial interests of this GREAT CONFEDERATED REPUBLIC are many and important, but complex to the highest degree, especially in their present situation.

Their extension is circumscribed only by the bounds of this lower creation: Are not the hardy sons of the Eastern States, now exploring the polar Regions of the North? while others, the "Mighty Hunters" of the Monsters of the Deep, are compassing those of the South—and the Indian Seas are ranged from Isle to Isle by enterprising adventurers, from Georgia to New-Hampshire.

The Commerce of the several States is complex—but this complexity does not involve incompatibility—our enemies have asserted it, but their interest was connected with the currency of the falsehood: The lie has been so often told, that it began to assume the semblance of Truth.—However, nature having done every thing for us, in point of climate, soil, and produce, to constitute a most perfect domestic Commerce, nothing remains, but to avail ourselves of these advantages, to prove that the interest of the Union is ONE.

The operation of the National Government will naturally open and expand the views of America: She has yet to learn how extensive are her resources—their competency to her wants, and to all the purposes of refined enjoyment.

The late War afforded an inadequate opportunity for these purposes: The repelling the enemy, a great and powerful enemy, possessing all the advantages resulting from speaking the same language—having connections in all parts of the country, and being indefatigable in availing themselves of these circumstances, to weaken and divide, required that the whole force of our exertions should be centered to one point: The discoveries we then made respecting our Resources, were incidental; but now, this must be the great object of national concern: The Earth—the Sea—the Mountains—the Rivers—the Forests—the Plains—and Climes of every Sun, invite America to be wise—to be great—to be truly independent, happy, and glorious.

Our prospects as a people, turn upon the operation of the New Government: Should its administration be entered upon with dignity, firmness, a sacred regard to justice, and the rights of the people, agreeably to the spirit of the constitution; there can be no doubt of its answering all the great purposes for which government was instituted—and there can be no doubt of an accordant disposition of the people—for they fully realize, that "peace, liberty and safety," with all their attendant blessings, depend upon just and equal laws, faithfully, strictly and impartially executed.

The address of the German Lutheran Congregation of Philadelphia, affords a striking trait of that UNIVERSAL SENTIMENT of affection towards the father of his country, which pervades the bosoms of the various inhabitants who compose the great volume of American citizens.

ERRATA IN OUR LAST.

In the sketch of Thursday's Debate, the paragraph which begins "To counterbalance, &c." should stand thus—"To prevent any discouragement to the Fisheries, or to the exportation of provisions, from the duty on Salt, it was voted, that a bounty of 5 cents each, should be allowed on the following Articles, which may be exported to foreign markets, viz.

On dried Fish, pr. quintal,
Pickled Fish, pr. barrel,
Salted Provisions, pr. barrel.

In the first class of Senators—for "John Elmer," read JONATHAN ELMER.

ARRIVALS.

At the Port of New-York.

Monday. Ship Francis, Power, Madeira. 44 days.
Ship Willson, M'Ever, Liverpool. 49 days.
Brig Nancy, Barnard, Cape Francois. 20 days.
Brig Pearl, Pell, Newry. 63 days.
Tuesday. Brig William, Stephenson, Londonderry. 45 days.
Sloop Polly & Betty, Folger, Cape Francois. 14 days.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE TOWN OF NEW-PORT.

To George Hazard, Henry Merchant, George Champlin, Peleg Clarke, William Tripp, and George Sears, *Esqrs. Representatives of the Town of Newport to the Hon. General Assembly of the State of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations.*

GENTLEMEN,
IMPRESSED with a sense of the necessity and justice of an immediate compliance with the recommendations of the Honorable the Congress, respecting the new form of government for the United States of America, we cannot forbear renewing our instructions to you on this interesting subject.

We are now arrived at a period, when the principles which have actuated an opposition to the calling a state convention in this State, cannot operate.

All the States (this and North-Carolina excepted) have acceded to the new constitution, and the latter hath ordered a convention to be called. —The unanimity which hath prevailed in the acceding States, in the election of a federal President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, hath fully evinced their approbation of the present system of government:—The new Congress is formed, and the new government will be soon in regular motion, and operate with suitable energy: The opposers of it in this State must therefore be convinced, that their opposition to it hath proved and will prove ineffectual.

Let us now advert to some of the ruinous consequences which will result from the obstinate continuance of an opposition to a measure which has been so generally adopted by the United States, and is now established.

This State cannot exist without commerce, agriculture and manufactures; these are naturally connected, and must rise and fall together, however the bad policy of some men may have endeavoured to disunite them. But can we expect that our trade with the United States will be continued if we still refuse to unite and harmonize with them, or that it will be favorably received by foreign nations?

Have we not reason rather to conclude, that we shall be viewed by both as an impotent refractory State, which has forfeited all pretences to a friendly intercourse with them? We may therefore be assured, that our foreign trade must cease for want of federal protection, and that the ports of our once sister States will be shut against us.

The inhabitants of the principal maritime towns and of this in particular, will then suffer the severest distress: We receive the first necessities of life, bread and firewood, chiefly from the other States; and a large proportion of the inhabitants, entirely depend for their subsistence, on Commerce, and must perish with its destruction. In this wretched situation, necessity will oblige them as the last alternative, to apply to the Federal Government for relief and protection, and it will be undoubtedly afforded to them.

Anxious to avoid the calamities, which threaten us, and desirous to participate in the advantages, which in the opinion of the WISEST and BEST MEN in the United States, will result from an adoption of the New Constitution, and at the same time, solicitous for the existence, happiness, and prosperity of this State; We your constituents renew our Instructions, and urge you by every consideration that is dear and valuable, to continue your strenuous and laudable exertions, to obtain at the next session of the General Assembly, an act for calling a Convention in this State, for the purpose of adopting the Constitution as recommended by the late General Convention at Philadelphia.

Voted unanimously.

P. BARKER, jun. Town-Clerk.

NATIONAL MEMENTOS.

PHILADELPHIA, MAY 14, 1789.

A correspondent remarks, that were the Representatives in Congress to be continually presented with an emblematic view of the staples of their respective States, it might furnish them with useful hints, and direct their councils to the promotion of manufactures, from the great abundance of raw materials produced in some States; and the extension of agriculture and commerce, from the valuable productions of others; which might afford a vast export trade, and be an amazing source of wealth and prosperity.

In the British House of Lords, the members are seated on wool sacks, that the importance of the woolen manufacture, the great staple of Britain, may be indelibly impressed on their minds. In like manner, the Delegates in Congress might have their seats wrought with some device, descriptive of the staples of their several States:—For instance,

New-Hampshire might be represented by a pine tree.
Massachusetts, by a barrel of fish.
Rhode-Island, (when federal) a hamper of cheese.
Connecticut, an ox.

New-York, a hoghead of flaxseed.
New-Jersey, a bundle of flax.
Pennsylvania, a bag of wheat.
Delaware, a bag of wool.
Maryland, pig an bar iron.
Virginia, a hoghead of tobacco.
North-Carolina, (when federal) a barrel of tar.
South-Carolina, a bag of cotton.
Georgia, a barrel of rice.

Our correspondent is far from wishing the Delegates in the general government, to confine their views to the local interests of their respective States; on the contrary, he has no objection to the above articles being represented in one general device, to be fixed in some conspicuous place, where Congress might have a constant view of it, and be continually reminded of the duty they owe to their country.

The ADDRESS of the MINISTERS, CHURCH-WARDENS and VESTRYMEN of the German Lutheran Congregation, in and near the city of Philadelphia, to his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States.

SIR,

IT is with inexpressible satisfaction, that we, the Ministers, Church-Wardens and Vestrymen of the German Lutheran congregation, in and near the city of Philadelphia, address your Excellency on the present great occasion. The entire esteem, the exalted consideration with which we view your character, delightfully combine with the duty we owe to this our country, and the love we bare to every fellow citizen throughout these states, in exciting us to announce the joy we entertain in your appointment to the station of President in Chief.

The affairs of America, in which your Excellency bore so illustrious a part from the very beginning of a most arduous contest—all along exhibited more than the symptoms of a great and general prosperity to be at length completed. The most clouded portions of our time were not without some rays of hope; and numerous occurrences, through the blessing of Divine Providence were brilliant and eminently fortunate. The present happy crisis sheds a lustre on the past events of our Union, and it seems to be the preface of every thing desirable to come. Pleasingly do we anticipate the blessings of a wise, efficient government; equal freedom—perfect safety—a sweet contentment spreading through the whole land—irreproachable manners with pure religion, and that righteousness, which exalteth a nation. Though as individuals we can be but very little known to you, yet as representatives, in some respect, of a numerous people in this city; and being so situated as to know well the minds of our German Brethren nearly through this state; we can with some propriety come forward in this manner. It is therefore with assurance and pleasure we affirm, that there is no body of people whatsoever, that can or ever shall exceed those with whom we are connected, in affection for your person, and confidence in your abilities, patriotism and distinguished goodness. You are the MAN of their bosoms and veneration. On this ground may we be entitled to some excuse for what might seem to be intrusion in the midst of your numerous weighty engagements. And here permit us to subjoin, that we shall never cease to address the Throne of Grace, with the same warmth and sincerity of heart for your present and everlasting happiness, as for our own.

THE PRESIDENT'S Answer.

To the MINISTERS, CHURCH-WARDENS and VESTRYMEN of the German Lutheran Congregation in and near Philadelphia.

GENTLEMEN,

WHILE I request you to accept my thanks for your kind address, I must possess myself highly gratified by the sentiments of esteem and confidence contained in it. The approbation my past conduct has received from so worthy a body of citizens as that whose joy for my appointment you announce, is a proof of the indulgence with which my future transactions will be judged by them.

I could not however avoid apprehending, that the partiality of my countrymen in favor of the measures now pursued, had led them to expect too much from the present government; did not the same Providence which has been visible in every stage of our progress to this interesting crisis, from a combination of circumstances, give us cause to hope for the accomplishment of all our reasonable desires.

Thus partaking with you in the pleasing anticipation of the blessings of a wise and efficient government; I flatter myself that opportunities will not be wanting for me to show my disposition to encourage the domestic and public virtues of industry, economy, patriotism, philanthropy and that righteousness, which exalteth a nation.

I rejoice in having so suitable an occasion to testify the reciprocity of my esteem for the numerous people whom you represent. From the excellent character for diligence, sobriety and virtue which the Germans in general, who are settled in

America, have ever maintained; I cannot forbear felicitating myself on receiving from so respectable a number of them such strong assurances of their affection for my person, confidence in my integrity, and zeal to support me in my endeavors for promoting the welfare of our common country.

So long as my conduct shall merit the approbation of the Wife and the Good, I hope to hold the same place in your affections, which your friendly declarations induce me to believe I possess at present; and amidst all the vicissitudes that may await me in this mutable existence, I shall earnestly desire the continuation of an interest in your intercessions at the Throne of Grace.

G. WASHINGTON.

OF THE CELEBRATED SWEDENBURG.

The insanity of the Baron Swedenburg, appears evident to every sensible person who will investigate his works. He says, that as he was sitting once at an inn in London, a light appeared in the room, from which issued a voice which said (it is affecting to mention it) "I am God Almighty, and eat no more," &c. He says that angels conversed with him for about thirty years, that they told him of the internal or spiritual sense of the scriptures, that they brought, whenever he pleased, various persons from the grave to dispute before him. He says, that an angel brought to him two men out of the moon, one upon the back of the other, that they were like little men, Homunciones, though only about three feet high, that they spoke from the Abdomen, and not from the lungs as we do, ex Abdomen et non ex pulmone, and that they had rough hoarse voices, which frightened away the foul spirits in the moon from them. He appears however, to have had virtues, and in his works are frequent marks of genius. Solitude and study, perhaps, turned his brain, which will often happen to men of severe application. Dr. Tissot in his *Traite de La Sante des Gens de Lettres*, says, that the famous Paschal conceived an abyss of fire always at his hand, and that others from study and a sedentary life, have fancied that they had no legs and could not walk, that they were butter, and have thrown themselves into wells to be kept cool.

MISCELLANEOUS PARAGRAPHS.

KINGSTON, (Jamaica) April 8. Monday last a new pump, eight inches diameter in the clear of the sucking pipe, made by Mr. Howard of this town, blacksmith and founder, was tried in the presence of the fire wardens, and a concourse of spectators; the result of which was highly to the credit of that mechanic. After the several fire engines had been filled, the sucking pipe of the largest was immersed in a tub, into which the pump discharged the water, which it supplied with great ease; the sucker of the second, being applied to the same tub, both were fully supplied, together with an overflow, nearly sufficient for even a third, at times when the negro who was at the pump, exerted himself, there being but one to the handle at a time!—Upon the whole the pump gave general satisfaction, and is allowed to be the most complete ever exhibited in this country.—The new well near the bottom of Church-Street, into which Mr. Howard's pump is put, was calculated to contain about 207 cubic feet, or nearly 60 puncheons of water, and was emptied as far as the pump would suck, (within a few inches of the bottom) in twenty-two minutes.

RICHMOND, (Virginia) May 7. By an express just arrived from the County Lieutenant of Monongalia, to the Honorable Executive of this State, we are informed, "that on the 23d ult. two parties of Indians attacked nearly at the same time two families on Dunker-creek, about 20 or 25 miles from Morgan's-town, and killed one man out of one, and the man, his wife and two children, which was the whole of the other family. The alarm given to the inhabitants in that part of the country by this murder, hath become very serious, and unless some speedy assistance is given, it is the opinion that Monongalia river (which runs through Morgan-town) will be the frontier in a short time."

GEORGE-TOWN, (Maryland) May 7. We cannot but congratulate our readers on the prospect of Fat wmack becoming soon the common channel of conveyance for the produce of the fertile country through which it runs. The water carriage is already so far established, that five waggons are kept for the purpose of constantly plying between Waters' branch, the common landing, and George-town. Colonel Darke's boat last week, brought down a load of 262 barrels of flour from Shepherd's-town, in Virginia, and passed Shanandoah and Seneca Falls, with safety and ease. The expense of carriage is considerably lessened, from 8/4 and 10/6 to 5/6 per barrel from Washington—and the boatmen are very active in soliciting employ.

PHILADELPHIA, May 15. A gentleman, who has lately visited the country between the Delaware and the Susquehanna, has calculated, that there are Sugar Maple Trees enough in the State of Pennsylvania to make as much sugar as could be consumed in the United States. This Maple Sugar has been examined in Philadelphia, and yields loaves equal in quality to that which is made from the juice of the West-India cane. To freemen, its sweetness ought to be enhanced by the reflection, that it is not stained with the sweat and blood of Negro slaves.

A correspondent informs us, that a number of housekeepers in this city have determined not to purchase or use LAMB in their families. This public spirited resolution coincides with the recommendations of the old Congress, and the example of the new. As beef, pork, grain and vegetables are declining in price, the farmer will find his profits considerably increased by the preservation of his lambs, and a careful attention to his sheep.

NEW-LONDON, May 8. A Mr. Edward Weyman, of Charleston, South-Carolina, has, (by advertisement) noticed the directors or managers of Glass-Houses in the United States of America, that he is perfectly acquainted in the secret art and practice of plate-glass grinding; rubbing, polishing, diamond-cutting, and silvering; and is provided with the completest apparatus (out of Europe) to carry on the above branches: All those who wish to encourage American manufactures, and chuse to correspond on this subject, and also the cutting of plate-glass, may receive further information with regard to the manufacture, and the many advantages resulting therefrom, by applying to him, at No. 59, Church-Street, Charleston.

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